Twenty-ninth Session

FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND AND FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York
on Friday, 13 December 1974, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. ORTIZ de ROZAS (Argentina)
later: Mr. SIDDIQ (Vice-Chairman)
(Afghanistan)

later: Mr. NEUGEBAUER (Vice-Chairman)
(German Democratic Republic)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General /36/ (continued)
- Conclusion of the Committee's work

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The co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

74-7348/A
AGENDA ITEM 36 (continued)


The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Before I call on the first speaker inscribed on my list in the general debate on the question of the strengthening of international security, I should like to announce that the delegation of the United Arab Emirates is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

Mr. CEASUSU (Romania) (interpretation from French): The study of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security provides a good opportunity for reflection on the over-all problems of international security and co-operation and future action to be taken by States or within this Organization.

To be sure, international security is the outcome of joint or individual action on the part of many agents, particularly Member States of the international community.

That outcome can only be positive and satisfactory when individual or concerted action is based on a joint study of the international situation and a common estimation of what objectives and methods should be taken. The most appropriate forum in which such an assessment can be made is the United Nations.
My country, Romania, attaches paramount importance to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and to the examination and adoption by our Organization of appropriate recommendations. To achieve this, the real state of affairs in the contemporary world must be used as a basis. This reality we approach as follows. As a result of the profound changes in international life, a new movement towards détente can be seen in the world. But, it is also true that this movement towards détente is just commencing and is as yet fragile. The great political and economic problems at the world level have not yet been solved and others, even more serious, are emerging and accumulating. We note with concern the continued existence in some regions of the world of sources of tension and conflict which at any time may degenerate into war, with grave consequences for all mankind. What is even more serious is the fact that in the world there are still retrograde forces which have as yet not renounced the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist way of life. That is why my country believes that so long as such forces exist then the danger of new wars, even the danger of a world war, will also continue to exist. Of course, the overwhelming majority of States, all those peoples who wish to live in peace and tranquillity, are convinced that the policy of force and of war, is not the method to be used to solve disputes or a conflict of interests. On the contrary, the policy of force and its utilization complicates the problems even more and leads to a deterioration in the relations between States, accentuates the lack of confidence and frequently causes new sources of tension.

The evolution of events this year, however, strengthens our belief that even the most complex problems and situations can be solved by peaceful means.

That is why the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceaucescu, recently emphasized at the Eleventh Congress of the Romanian Communist Party:

"... it is necessary to act with a deep sense of responsibility in order to consolidate the movement towards détente, and by means of negotiation to solve the complex, contentious problems of contemporary life, to promote a policy of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and equality among all peoples in order to guarantee world peace."
(Mr. Ceausu, Romania)

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, as well as resolutions adopted since, proclaims the principles upon which States should base their relations, and invites States to implement them and to follow them with strength and conviction. My country believes that the strengthening of international security requires, firstly, the establishment of relations among States on new democratic bases and requires on the part of all States recognition of and strict respect for the fundamental principles of international law. That is a sphere in which each State, and our Organization, can make its own specific contribution.

As for Romania, it is acting to make it possible for the fundamental principles of international law to be recognized and implemented. Within the framework of its relationship with other States, my country has taken the initiative to include these principles in solemn declarations or in treaties concluded with other States.

Thus, as a result of meetings and talks which the President of Romania had during his visits to countries throughout all continents, as well as the opportunities furnished by the visits to Bucharest of numerous Heads of State or Government, Romania in recent years has signed solemn declarations and treaties of friendship with 22 countries. Among those declarations can be seen some which have been distributed as official documents of the General Assembly or of the Security Council. By expressing the common intention of the respective countries to establish their mutual relations upon principles enshrined in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, these instruments, in our opinion, are a concrete means of implementing the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security points to the existence of a close connexion between international security, disarmament and economic development and emphasizes the need to undertake international action to close the economic gap existing between developed and developing countries.

Four years after the adoption of the Declaration we can all see that the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries has been constantly widening.
Romania is firmly convinced that the elimination of underdevelopment and the promotion of more rapid economic and social progress in the underdeveloped countries are prerequisites for the development of mankind as a whole and for the maintenance of the peace and security of all.

As the degree of underdevelopment found in many countries is the result of unequal relations in the past, we believe that the elimination of existing gaps will require the establishment of a new policy with regard to international economic and political relations. It has become obvious, therefore, that problems of economic development and co-operation can only be solved within the framework of a new world economic and political order, by making international relations more democratic and by elaborating new rules of international law in view of the changes occurring in the world.

In establishing the new international economic and political order, in the view of my country, among other things the following factors should be considered.

First, the elimination of unequal relations and the domination of other peoples and the establishment of relations based on full equality before the law among all nations, and it should be based on the respect of the sovereign right of each people to determine how its national resources shall be used.

Secondly, respect for the right of each people to choose its own social and political system without any foreign interference, and also the right of each nation to pursue its economic and social development independently.
Thirdly, the new order requires the adoption of strong measures to rapidly close the gap between developed and developing countries so that the levels of economic and social development of all countries may become more similar.

Fourthly, equitable relations must be established between the price of raw materials and the price of manufactured goods, taking into account economic law and the need to stimulate the productivity of all peoples.

Fifthly, access for all countries to raw materials and energy sources should be ensured, as should the access for all States to the accomplishments of modern science and technology.

Sixthly, under the aegis of the United Nations, special programmes should be drawn up, first in the field of food, to focus the efforts of States so that objectives of vital importance to the progress of human civilization may be achieved.

To be sure, the achievement of those objectives and the establishment of the new international economic and political order require both an intensification of multilateral co-operation within our Organization and an intensification of bilateral co-operation. Like the majority of Member States of our Organization, Romania is convinced that the solution of the complex economic and political problems of the contemporary world cannot be achieved by just a few States. The just and lasting solution of all those problems necessitates the active participation of all countries on an equal footing and enjoying full rights. Thus Romania deeply appreciates the role of small and medium-sized countries and non-aligned countries in the establishment of the new international economic and political order.

Romania, as a European country, attaches particular importance to the establishment on that continent of new relations guaranteeing each nation the possibility of focusing its efforts on its economic and social development and on general progress. That is why Romania is acting with other socialist countries and other States of the continent to establish security in Europe. My country believes that the commencement of the general European Conference and the proceedings of the first two sessions have achieved positive results.

For the first time, a framework has been created within which European States can, on a basis of full equality, discuss major problems upon which the peace and security of the continent depend.
Romania will continue to work for the success of the second stage of the Conference and it will assist in the drafting of new, more comprehensive documents that will establish a lasting basis and offer a broad perspective with regard to relations of multilateral co-operation among all the States of the continent, as well as providing complete guarantees against any aggression or any interference in the foreign affairs of any European State.

Romania is convinced that a permanent body should be established, one that is advisory in nature and that will facilitate the maintenance of contacts among European countries so that principles that will be adopted by the European Conference can be implemented.

For Romania, the conclusion within the general framework of European security of regional agreements including agreements within the Balkan region, should be a positive factor of great importance. That is why my country wishes to contribute fully to the development of co-operation and understanding among the Balkan States so that the Balkans may become an area in which there are no foreign military troops, bases or nuclear arms, an area that can become a zone of peace and co-operation.

While it is satisfied with the positive achievements in the work of the European Conference and the progress achieved in the solution of some European problems, my country is aware of the complex situation existing in Europe at this time.

Romania cannot forget that the greatest concentration of military strength, manpower and material is now to be found in Europe. That concentration is without any historical precedent. It threatens peace and should deeply concern the United Nations and mankind as a whole.

As for Romania, it has worked and will continue to work persistently for the implementation of a disarmament programme, starting with nuclear disarmament. That is why, in Geneva and in various international forums, Romania has presented concrete proposals that are well known.

Unfortunately, while disarmament is being discussed we are witnessing an intensification of the arms race and the production and stockpiling of new weapons of mass destruction. It is increasingly evident that increased military expenditure creates incalculable dangers to the security of all peoples and threatens international peace.
Romania is convinced that it is high time for words to be turned into deeds, that there should be individual and collective planning with regard to armaments; that disarmament should be planned — in other words, there should be a total cessation of the arms race and existing stockpiles should be liquidated. Among the most important objectives Romania would place the prohibition of the utilization of thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the conclusion of appropriate agreements, the terms of which would require any State possessing nuclear weapons solemnly to assume the responsibility of ceasing production of new weapons and destroying those which exist.

Whenever problems of international security are studied, the situation in the Middle East must be evoked. It remains complex, and inherent in it is the danger of new armed conflict, a new war. The confirmation of the separate nationhood of the Palestinian people and the broad international recognition that has been granted it, including recognition within our Organization, constitute fundamental changes in the Middle East providing new perspectives for lasting and just peace. The solution of the Palestinian problem, the key to peace in the Middle East, requires the establishment of a new relationship. One might even say that there will have to be a true historic reconciliation between Palestinians and Jews on the basis of the recognition of the right of each people to free and independent development and peaceful coexistence.

Romania believes that Israel must withdraw its troops from Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war and that arrangements guaranteeing the integrity and sovereignty of each State of the zone must be obtained. At the same time, my country advocates an appropriate solution of the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of recognition of its right to self-determination, including its right to establish its own independent State. Romania supports efforts aimed at the urgent resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and other States that might contribute to the rapid solution of the conflict.

The United Nations was conceived as a pivotal organ in the machinery for collective security. That is why, when this item is studied, it is appropriate also to consider the need to strengthen the role and the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security.
Romania believes that progress towards strengthening the role of the United Nations is provided by a constant improvement of the functioning and the effectiveness of its principal bodies. To respond to the hopes of peoples, action should be taken so that the Organization, as stipulated in the Charter, can become the major international tool to prevent the appearance of new tension, crisis and conflict, to oppose foreign domination and bring to a halt any act of aggression. Also, as was demonstrated in the debate in the plenary Assembly, appropriate measures must be taken to increase the confidence that peoples have in this Organization. States must be encouraged to increasingly utilize the benefits it offers.

Conditions must be established which guarantee States strong support when they address the United Nations. This support would be granted to them in their defence of independence and sovereignty. It would be an effective support to safeguard their legitimate rights and interests and their economic and social development.

In conclusion, I should like to tell the Committee that the Romanian delegation has decided to become a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee has taken due note of Romania's desire to co-sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

Mr. HAMZA (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): At its twenty-fifth session, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That was a significant new step towards world peace. Nevertheless, optimism regarding the strengthening of international security will not be justified without the goodwill and good intentions of the countries of the world to implement it.
Despite the lengthy and detailed discussions and consideration of this item of the agenda, and despite the successive resolutions which emphasize the significance of the Declaration and call for its implementation, we regret the fact that it continues to be paralysed and in a state of stagnation.

It may be difficult to discuss the strengthening and consolidation of international security at a time when many people in various parts of the world are exposed to acts of aggression on their territories, to plunder of their wealth and resources, to threats of force and invasion, to foreign domination, occupation and intervention in their internal affairs. It is also difficult to be optimistic about strengthening international security at a time when colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, exist in various places.

Nevertheless, a consideration of the matter within the framework of the United Nations has given it a new dimension and a new perspective and has shed light on various matters about which we need to know more. Moreover, it has emphasized the fact that the United Nations follows the right path despite the obstacles and difficulties it faces.

We are all well aware of the close relationship between the strengthening of international security, disarmament, the liquidation of all forms of imperialism and colonialism, economic development, and the need to join in and intensify efforts in order to bridge the widening gap between advanced and developing countries. We have recently concluded a consideration of the questions related to disarmament within the framework of this Committee, and one can recall with satisfaction the good results achieved.

The present policy of international détente is considered a positive step in international relations, opening the way to bilateral and regional meetings. This has given opportunities, therefore, for strengthening international relations in order to consolidate peaceful coexistence and to solve conflicts by peaceful means and on the basis of the spirit of the United Nations Charter.
While we welcome the new pattern of international relations, we emphasize the importance that such a trend must not harm the interests of developing countries in exercising their freedom and independence, or expose them to any plunder of their economic resources.

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States constitutes a new achievement for the United Nations at its current session. This charter will undoubtedly become an active instrument for the establishment of a new system of economic relations among countries on the basis of equality, sovereignty, mutual respect and consideration of the interests of advanced, industrialized and developing countries.

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States constitutes, in our view, the framework within which we can take into consideration the economic situation of various countries. It comes very close to being the appropriate pattern for the concepts of economic justice for all people. We are convinced, today more than ever, that the United Nations should play a more dynamic role in encouraging the trends aiming at the easing of tensions and limiting the economic, military and political threats to peace and international security. We are more and more convinced that the United Nations can be a cornerstone in achieving more successful results in international relations, giving the right to all peoples to contribute and participate, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, in easing international tension and solving international conflicts and problems, on the basis of the spirit of the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter in order to achieve international peace and security based on genuine respect for the sovereignty and independence of every State and the right of every people to self-determination without the use of force or outside interference. All this constitutes an urgent need and objective which the United Nations should seek to achieve.*

* Mr. Siddiq (Afghanistan) took the Chair.
When we refer to the strengthening of international peace and security, this actually represents the genuine and true aspiration of the Yemeni people, a people that is peace-loving and eager for security and that looks forward to development without interference. Our people in Yemen have struggled for a long time for stability and progress and have valiantly resisted all the manoeuvres of imperialism and colonialism, believing that peace will not be achieved and security will not be strengthened except by fighting against all aggression and opposing the spirit of aggression wherever and whenever they may appear. The difficulties which the Yemeni people have experienced in their struggle for liberation have not deterred them in their determination to achieve stability, unity and economic progress. Our people, despite the political isolation and lack of information imposed on them, has succeeded in building close relations with fraternal Arab countries, with friendly socialist countries, with progressive national régimes, and with friends in Asia, Africa and Latin America. During the course of the current year we have been able to establish strong relations based on stability, mutual respect and confidence with various friendly and fraternal countries, and we have participated in a number of important conferences -- all of which was an unexpected blow dealt to those who were seeking to impose isolation on our people.

The Chairman of the Presidential Council of my country has made important visits to the northern part of Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Somalia, Algeria, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Viet-Nam, and participated in the Arab summit conference held in Rabat, which adopted important resolutions involving the Arabs on an international level. The Secretary-General of the Political Organization of the National Front in the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen has made visits to Kuwait, Iraq, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The Prime Minister of Democratic Yemen has also made important visits to other fraternal and friendly countries. The leaders of the Revolution in my country, through these activities and visits, have emphasized the ability of the Yemeni people and the Government of the Revolution to extend the hand of friendship and tear
down the wall of isolation imposed on us by the enemies of progress and liberation. By so doing, they have demonstrated that our leadership believes that the situation our enemies seek to perpetuate cannot serve peace and security in the region and, consequently, peace and security throughout the world.

All these activities have produced important positive results at the level of bilateral relations with friends and with others and in terms of deepening the belief of our people in its Revolution, encouraging the development of our national resources and consolidating the prosperity and economic progress of our country.

Democratic Yemen, despite the difficulties and obstacles it has had to face in this regard, has sought to ease tensions in the area, which is indeed a step towards international peace and security. We cannot possibly be distracted from this path by the ambition evidenced by some countries in the region in the race to acquire destructive weapons and to allocate incredibly vast sums to military budgets.

It is very difficult to speak of peace and security at a time when fascist and racist régimes continue to exist in the world. There are millions of Palestinians who have been driven from their homeland by fascist and racist atrocities committed by the Zionist clique in Palestine. There is also the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination carried on by the white minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa. How can peace be achieved, how can humanity realize its aspirations to stability and security in the presence of the advocates of racism and barbarism in such areas? How can we trust the intentions of those who speak of international peace and security while at the same time providing protection and support to those fascist and racist régimes, the existence of which is considered a stigma on humanity? We still await convincing answers to these questions.

We should also like to mention the danger that the presence of foreign bases represents in terms of a grave threat to the security of all humanity. Developing countries which have resisted and struggled against forces for their independence and to embark on economic development in their respective countries, regard with great concern the presence of foreign military
bases on their territories and in their waters. What then can justify the presence of those military bases and fleets of ships? If the countries to which they belong believe they serve the cause of international peace and security, we should like to refute them by saying that this is not the best method for achieving world peace. International peace and security will not be achieved in a climate of military threat and pressure, but only on a basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and equality in international relations and of non-intervention in the affairs of other States. This is the right path to follow, that is if we are sincere when we discuss peace and security and if we are seeking genuine implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. There is no other path.

MR. TCHERNICHCHENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic)
(interpretation from Russian): Since the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, four years have elapsed, not a very long time. Those years, however, have been marked by extremely important international events that have resulted in a substantial reduction of international tensions. The period has been marked by radical changes in international relations and will go down in history as a time of fundamental restructuring of the entire system of international relationships, and as a period characterized by a turning away from confrontation and towards co-operation in relations among States with different social systems.
It was also marked by the fact that in relations among countries there began to be growing confirmation of a new system of relations underlying which was the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems. Members of the Committee will recall that only in the recent past the world faced a situation where international relations were poisoned. A fierce struggle was going on in Viet-Nam; events in other parts of the world were taking a very dangerous turn; the cold war weighed massively on the life and consciousness of the peoples of the world; the relations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with major Western countries remained difficult. No solutions were forthcoming to the problem of a settlement in Europe. The missile and nuclear weapons race was becoming ever-more dangerous. I do not think that there is a need to fill out this picture of extremely difficult and, it would seem, totally insoluble problems.

However, the fact that these problems seemed impossible to solve did not frighten those who really were concerned for strengthening international peace and security and for improving the international climate.

In one of his statements, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid I. Brezhnev, stated: "In assessing the general balance of forces in the world, as early as a few years ago we had already come to the conclusion that there does exist a real opportunity to achieve a radical break-through in the international situation. What was necessary was to enter the broad field of constructive discussion and the solution of accumulated problems." And the whole world knows that it is precisely due to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that there did occur an easing of international tension which was in keeping with the interests of the peoples of all continents.

In this regard historical significance should be attached to the adoption at the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of an extremely well-founded foreign policy programme of the Soviet State, which the peoples describe as the programme of peace since it was and continues to be in keeping with their aspirations towards universal peace and security. It should be pointed out that this programme gives a high priority to the United Nations
and the use of the opportunities it offers in order to combat aggression, international arbitrariness, colonialism and racism and to strengthen international peace and co-operation.

Thanks to the energetic actions, the consistency and the stability of the Soviet Union in its policy, the programme of peace was successfully implemented and many of its provisions have actually been carried out or at least important steps have been taken towards the implementation of those measures. The implementation of this programme is reflected in the system of treaties and agreements concluded and signed by the Soviet Union, which have led to a reduction of the threat of armed conflict, the strengthening of security and the placing of some restraint on the arms race -- all of which resulted in the development of multifaceted and mutually advantageous co-operation among countries regardless of their social systems.

At this stage an important instrument in the strengthening of international security is the expansion of co-operation and mutual understanding among States in all areas and the adoption of measures which would strengthen general peace and lead to ridding mankind once and for all of the threat of thermonuclear war. At the same time, we should lay special stress on the role and significance of the non-aligned States in efforts designed to strengthen international peace and security and to solve fundamental problems in international relations. We should also mention the importance of the development of friendly relations and co-operation between socialist States and Afro-Asian and other peace-loving countries.

In the face of further change in the balance of forces in the world arena in favour of peace, democracy and socialism, the most far-sighted political leaders of the major Western capitalist countries on the eve of the 1970s were forced to turn -- to use their own words -- from an era of confrontation to that of negotiation. In this regard we must also point out the importance of the position of these Western leaders, who, overcoming the inertia of the cold war, adopted a course of peaceful dialogue with States of another system, the socialist system.
As for the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, they have always favored negotiations that should be conducted on an equal footing and not from the notorious position of strength -- something some people still dream of. It is only an approach of this kind which can be an instrument for the settlement of controversial international issues and which, the Byelorussian delegation is firmly convinced, is wholly and fully in keeping with the requirements of the United Nations Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the implementation of which is precisely now being considered by the Political Committee.

The past four years have marked a very substantial easing of international tension, and this is something which is so eloquently demonstrated by numerous examples: the cessation of American aggression in Viet-Nam, the conclusion of treaties and the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR and a number of European socialist countries, the signing of a four-Power agreement on West Berlin, progress in the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the conclusion of a number of multilateral agreements which are curbing the arms race in certain areas. All these and many other facts are important in their own right, and they assume even greater importance as an expression of general positive changes in international life.

As we know, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security calls upon Member States strictly to observe the Purposes and Principles of the Charter in their relations and to act in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. At the same time, the Declaration quite rightly points out that the development of regional and bilateral co-operation can promote the strengthening of international security. The events of the past few years have not only shown that the development of such co-operation is correct but also how important it is. The normalization of relations and businesslike co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries has long since assumed broad international significance and become an important factor in the strengthening of international peace and security.
That is why the results of the latest meetings of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev with President Ford of the United States in Vladivostok in November of this year and with President Giscard d'Estaing of France in Rambouillet in December have been very generally welcomed throughout the world.

The positive changes in the international arena have created more favourable conditions for the struggle of democratic progressive forces in favour of the social and economic reforms which are so necessary, and it is no accident that it is precisely in circumstances of détente that progress has been achieved in the field of decolonization. It was precisely in these circumstances that the last colonial empire, that of Portugal, collapsed, and precisely in circumstances of détente that the developing countries have been able to make progress in the struggle against inequality in international relations, an advance that has been embodied in the resolutions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The peoples of all countries are showing their tremendous desire for the elimination of the threat of war, and they want to see really lasting peace and really fruitful co-operation. However, forces are still at work in the world which resist the struggle for the easing of tension. In a number of countries there are still political leaders who, despite the interests of the peoples, including those of their own countries, are, for example, opposing progress in the field of international co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States and attempting to distort the nature of the agreements which have been achieved, particularly in the field of the limitation of strategic armaments. The same imperialistic circles are attempting to preserve their weakening positions and to suppress the aspirations of the people to freedom and bring fascist régimes to power, as has occurred in Chile. Those reactionary forces oppose détente in international relations and concrete steps towards that end.

In addition to these circles, we also find forces at work that don the camouflage of revolutionary phraseology and pose, in their own words, as champions of peace and the interests of the peoples, while in fact
they are damaging the national liberation movements, trying to slow down and reverse the positive changes which have occurred on the international front and attempting to exacerbate sources of tension and undermine the settlement of international problems.

We are profoundly convinced that the process of détente should embrace all spheres of world politics and economics. The process of political détente should be accompanied by military détente. We must seize every opportunity to restrain the arms race and solve the problem of disarmament. That is why in our view the Soviet-American efforts to limit strategic armaments deserve our fullest approval. The attainment of that goal would also promote the achievement of the reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council by 10 per cent and the use of part of funds thus saved for providing assistance to developing countries. This would be assisted by preparing a convention banning action to influence the environment for military and other hostile purposes and convening a world disarmament conference to consider a wide range of disarmament questions involving both weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons.

An essential precondition of further détente is the complete settlement of controversial international issues. These relate primarily to the Middle East and Cyprus. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly set out its views on this at the present session of the General Assembly. We should like to reaffirm what we have said before on this subject and to express our conviction that, thanks to the efforts of all peace-loving forces and States, these problems will eventually be solved successfully in the interests of the peoples of the countries in the areas concerned.

We must also carry through to the end the negotiation of a political settlement in Indo-China, in connexion with which there remains the task of consistent implementation of the various agreements on Viet-Nam and putting an end to the war in Cambodia, in accordance with the fundamental aspirations of the patriotic forces of that country. And, in the final analysis, we must resolve the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, which would create conditions making possible a peaceful solution of the Korean problem. Another urgent task is that of ensuring collective security in Asia.
Together with the urgent practical measures which could substantially improve the international climate, one of the tasks of high priority is that of further reducing tension in parts of the world where there is direct contact between the forces of NATO and those of the Warsaw Pact. In this connexion, the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe are of the greatest importance. In the same context, it is of great importance to conclude the pan-European Conference and take it to its third stage at summit level, when the final document would be signed.

As regards the problems of colonialism, we must point out that the problem of the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and the granting of freedom and independence to all countries and peoples still remains. And another problem which still awaits decision is that of putting an end to racism and apartheid in southern Africa.

In the view of our delegation, we must ensure the implementation of the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the establishment of equal international economic relations. There still remain extremely important tasks in the field of the strengthening of peace and international security, the settlement of conflicts and the elimination of tension in various parts of the world, and the protection of the right of peoples to independent sovereign development. We must not be satisfied with half-measures but do all we can to ensure the accomplishment of these tasks. The United Nations has a part to play in this. Recently it has achieved some positive results. These favourable results include some of the decisions of the present session, such as the adoption of a resolution on the definition of aggression. I would also remind the Committee of resolution 3236 (XXIX) adopted on 22 November 1974 by the General Assembly, which for the first time in many years acknowledged the lawful national rights of the Palestinian people. In this regard I refer also to the resolution on human rights in Chile, and many other decisions. Our task is to see that all these good decisions are given effect.
An important place in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security is given over to an enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the Security Council as the major United Nations organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We feel that it is along these lines that we should work, purposefully and consistently. As we know, the General Assembly has taken a decision to prohibit the use of force and, at the same time, to prohibit permanently the use of nuclear weapons. The Security Council should take the necessary decision so that this decision can become binding on all States.

We cannot fail, in this regard, to refer to the appeal contained in one of the paragraphs of the Declaration, whereby the General Assembly:

"Urges all Member States to implement the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter ...". (General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV), operative para. 16)

But the fact remains that Israel, in pursuing its aggressive policy towards neighbouring Arab States, is not complying with binding Security Council decisions designed to bring about a settlement of the Middle East problem. We firmly believe that we should all bear in mind the fact that Member States of the United Nations, in adopting the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, solemnly reaffirmed, as stated in operative paragraph 1 thereof:

"... the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as the basis of relations among States ...". (Ibid., operative para. 1)

This reminder seems to us entirely appropriate, since at this session, in flagrant violation of that unanimous decision, trends have emerged favouring a review of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. In no way is this in keeping with the task of enhancing the United Nations effectiveness in the strengthening of international peace and security.
The United Nations has already made a valuable contribution to the implementation of the purposes and principles proclaimed in its Charter, and the efforts of all Member States should be bent towards promoting efforts to make full use of the opportunities afforded by the United Nations in the strengthening of peace.

The efforts of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR and its aspirations all aim at ensuring that the United Nations becomes even more effective and authoritative as an international Organization which directs its efforts towards the solution of the fundamental problems of the day and towards the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Byelorussian delegation is convinced that the adoption of a resolution on the item under discussion that would reflect the fundamental international problems of the times would promote the attainment of those goals and the performance of the tasks set forth in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Peace and Security.

*Mr. ELIAS (Spain)* (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation has already indicated, on earlier occasions, its belief that international security is an essential, basic element of true peace. Indeed, we believe that to establish and strengthen a security system that will meet the universally-felt needs in this field -- quite apart from our efforts to eliminate or reduce the causes of war -- it is necessary to redress the present unstable balance which is based, in part, on alliances and, in part, on the agreed parity of weapons.

The arms race we are witnessing, and which we all deplore, could be curtailed if every country were assured that its potential adversaries did not intend to attack it with weapons of mass destruction -- not out of fear of reprisal, but because such an attack was not part of its policy. During the twenties, many countries solemnly declared that they renounced war as an instrument of policy: and that solemn declaration was even embodied in the preambles of the Constitution of some of those countries.
Today there is growing acceptance of the idea that at some point, and in some way, countries possessing a nuclear capacity, or those which could develop such a capacity in the foreseeable future, will have to make a solemn declaration, likely to instil confidence in other countries, to the effect that they would not use such weapons as an instrument of their policies. Only then can the feared horizontal and vertical nuclear proliferation be avoided.

Two nuclear-weapon States have already declared that they would use those weapons only as a nuclear deterrent or in defence of their own territories if attacked. This trend towards self-restraint in the use of nuclear weapons may herald the beginning of a new era, especially if we consider it within the context of the prohibition formulated by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 1653 (XVI) of 24 November 1961. It is to be hoped that, in assessing their own defence needs, all nuclear countries will, in their policies, attach priority to promoting this trend towards self-restraint.

The year 1975 may be decisive in this connexion. The increasing awareness of the need for concerted effort, and the new initiatives promoted by the General Assembly in its recent disarmament resolutions, make it possible to foresee, in view of the close connexion between disarmament and international security, that the system to guarantee international security may be established, or at least, that in the near future it may be better directed and more efficient than it has been so far.*

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* Mr. Neugebauer (German Democratic Republic) took the Chair.
In the context of international security, Spain cannot fail to mention and deplore the continued existence of the Gibraltar problem. During the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, as well as on earlier occasions, the delegation of Spain pointed out to the First Committee the dangers to my country presented by the continuation of military activities in that colony. In the context of international security, progress in détente and the search for a collective system of security, it is quite natural, and should surprise no one, that Spain would like to point to the existence of a source of friction on its own territory, and to military activities serving interests and purposes that we do not and cannot recognize; this constitutes a serious danger to the national security of my country and also to international security in a strategic area as important as the Straits of Gibraltar and the western Mediterranean.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, in the general debate of the twenty-ninth Assembly, made the following statement:

"... Great Britain, doubtless consistent with its strategy of a presence on the Gibraltar Strait, renders difficult the prevalence of the necessary relaxation of tension for complete stability in the western Mediterranean, and this runs counter to the present requirements of international life and is hardly propitious for the survival of positions of domination and advantage." (A/PV.2253, p. 63-65)

Later he added:

"The Gibraltar base represents a threat to Spain because it disturbs security as a result of the competing greeds which are created, and is therefore a continuous challenge to the policy of peace of the external action of Spain." (Ibid.)

Attempts have been made by representatives of the United Kingdom to deny this fact, claiming that their armed forces did not constitute a threat to any peace-loving country and therefore were not a threat to Spain. With all due respect for those declarations of good intentions, I must say that they give small consolation to those who must suffer the possible, probable or undoubted consequences of the existence of a foreign military base in a world as explosive as is the one in which we live. The military base of Gibraltar
has always been an element of discord, and an end must be put to a situation which has always been considered an anomaly by politicians, historians and the entire world, but above all by my own country which is the sufferer. The continued existence of the fortress-colony, or of the colony-fortress, is an obvious anachronism. The complete cessation of the military activities taking place on Gibraltar will be a positive element of great importance in strengthening security and peace in an area vital to Spain, but also important to the whole international community.*

Achieving security by eliminating tensions and through peaceful co-operation may one day make it unnecessary to maintain present defence systems. This assertion was also made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain in the recent general debate. Until this new system is established, the Minister continued to state, no country can neglect its own security. Spain, like other States, is determined to make its own defence requirements compatible with efforts to obtain détente; these efforts are making rapid headway. In this context, we believe that the well-intended but as yet unduly-restricted efforts being made by the major Powers at the bilateral level should be encouraged and promoted. But in no way can agreement between the big Powers be achieved at the cost of others. No hegemony or imperialism is acceptable to the international community today.

The Spanish Government has been actively participating in the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and will continue to contribute so that détente, mutual confidence and sincere co-operation may be achieved in the region. The close connexion between European security and security in the Mediterranean is due to the very geo-political configuration of the area. Thus the Spanish Government has always supported the presence of non-European Mediterranean countries in the system of continental security sought by the Conference. In the same connexion, we should also like to emphasize the need to avoid the resumption of hostilities in the Middle East and for urgent withdrawal from territories occupied by force, within the framework of respect for relevant resolutions of the various bodies of the United Nations.

* The Chairman returned to the Chair.
In the difficult hours before us there is need for greater imagination, determination and goodwill, not only inside our own countries, or bilaterally and regionally, but in the broad universal framework of this Organization as well.
I shall conclude by citing in this connexion a passage from the speech delivered on 2 October in the plenary Assembly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain: "From the last generation of statesmen we received this Organization, with its qualities and its shortcomings, with many of its potentialities still unrealized. Let us realize them, not only 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war', but also so that they may attain a more prosperous, more dignified and more just way of life through international co-operation." (A/PV.2253, p. 72-75)

Because we believe that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 on the whole incorporates the principles of détente and co-operation among all States within the United Nations, my delegation will vote in favour of it.

Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): The delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan attaches great importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and has on past occasions presented its views on that issue before the General Assembly.

The item under consideration touches upon the fundamental purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of this Organization and is directly related to the foundation of the United Nations. The deliberations of the Committee on this issue warrant serious thought and evaluation, in order for the United Nations to pursue its goal of strengthening international peace and security. In our view, international security requires the concerted efforts of all the members of the international community, large or small, developed or developing.

The direction which relations have taken over the past few years has indeed been to some extent encouraging. In our opinion, the momentum which has emerged should be maintained for the furtherance of international co-operation.

The climate of détente which has entered the relations between the big Powers, is a positive factor, but we believe that the decisions that have been reached and may be reached in the future, should encompass not only the interests and concerns of the big Powers, but also those of the international community as a whole. Nevertheless, the co-operative attitude which the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics and the United States of America have adopted towards many issues, in particular towards the issue of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, is welcome. We earnestly believe that their co-operation in this area is of paramount importance and is certain favourably to affect world security, a goal towards which we have all been striving for a long period of time.

The European countries have been able to reduce some of their long-standing differences through negotiation and that has resulted in a reduction, if not elimination, of the tension between them. Examples of situations in which tensions have eased are, the issue of Berlin; the peace agreement concluded between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany; the agreement reached between the two Germanies; and that between the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. In addition, the Conference on Security and Co-operation and the negotiations on the multilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments have also enhanced the atmosphere of peace on that continent. These measures no doubt demonstrate the willingness of those countries to pursue their mutual interests through peaceful coexistence and co-operation on the basis of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

While we have been encouraged to observe some positive steps towards the strengthening of international security in Europe and the easing of relations between the great Powers, none the less, the situation in certain other parts of the world remains discouraging. Furthermore, there exist certain situations which constitute possible breeding grounds for future mistrust and war.

The situation in the Middle East has not been settled yet, mainly because of the attitude and aggressive stance taken by the Government of Israel. We earnestly hope that as a result of future Geneva negotiations and on the basis of the decisions taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the problems in the Middle East will be resolved. In this connexion, we believe that the invitation of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization to assist in the deliberations on the question of Palestine was a far-sighted and essential move by the United Nations.
which will help in the achievement of eventual security in the region. The question of the restoration of the national rights and the right of self-determination for the people of Palestine requires solution, as it lies at the heart of the Middle East problem.

As we have stated on many occasions, the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied areas forms a prerequisite for the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The regrettable developments in Cyprus which brought that country to the brink of war are also in urgent need of solution. Our delegation believes that support of the General Assembly resolution adopted with regard to Cyprus should serve as the basis for a solution of the problem.

In South-East Asia, although the situation in Viet-Nam has eased somewhat, we believe that reduction of the problem to a scale on which it will no longer be a constant threat to world security, requires that the Paris Agreements be fully implemented and that solutions to the problem be based on the principle of the right of self-determination for the Viet-Namese people.

International peace and security also continue to be threatened by the denial of the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and by the persistence of alien domination, which remains as a vestige of colonialism in certain parts of the world. On the African continent, the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid is still practised by South Africa and Rhodesia. The delegation of Afghanistan has always been of the view that it is possible to abolish colonialism and alien domination only through the strict application of the cardinal principle of self-determination of peoples. The conscientious exercise of that principle will surely serve the furtherance of international security by making it possible to abolish forever the causes of contention which now exist in certain parts of the world and by correcting the injustice initiated by colonial rulers.

My delegation would like to see the United Nations play a more positive role in the elimination of trouble spots such as those to which we have referred above. Likewise, we believe that the strengthening of international security is inconceivable without disarmament. In this respect, the policy of my Government was fully explained in the course of the debate on the disarmament items in this Committee.
Although political threats to international security have received wide attention, the Afghanistan delegation has been heartened to see greater attention being focused on other areas with the potential to cause havoc to international security. World economic problems and the inequality of the nations of the world must be given wider attention and the problems must be resolved before that inequality leads to conflicts which could endanger peace.
The resolutions adopted at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly recognize the need to strengthen international security by alleviating economic sources of tension. The Afghan delegation welcomes the decision to act further along the same lines through the convening of a seventh special session, on development and economic co-operation. We should like particularly to draw attention to the call for the establishment of a new world economic order and the adoption of the Programme of Action at the sixth special session. If the decisions reached at the sixth special session are applied, we should begin to see an amelioration in the unjust economic situation and thereby the easing of economically induced world tensions.

The non-aligned countries, Afghanistan among them, have always demonstrated their desire to abide by the provisions of the Declaration and to exert necessary effort for its implementation. It should be stated that only through the implementation of the principles of the Declaration in relations between all sovereign States is it possible to achieve international peace and security. Mutual co-operation through observance of the provisions of the Charter and the Declaration that complements it can act to eliminate tensions which have prevailed as a result of decades of colonialism, imperialism and alien domination.

Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Please allow me at the outset to express the unreserved support of my country for the letter and spirit of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted by the General Assembly in the course of its twenty-fifth session. Our attitude emanates from a deep conviction that the responsibility for safeguarding humanity and achieving prosperity for all the peoples of the world at a time when some countries are racing to possess lethal weapons, be they conventional or nuclear, is a sacred and grave responsibility which rests with all countries, particularly major countries and advanced countries.

Our concern with the implementation of the Declaration on Strengthening International Security is in full accord with our adherence to the principles and objectives proclaimed in the Charter of our Organization, for we are certain that the efforts exerted to maintain international security would not yield the results desired unless they were achieved within the framework of the Charter.
The obstacles impeding the efforts exerted to strengthen and maintain international security arise because some parties believe in the principle of resort to force or intimidation by the threat of the use of force against smaller countries in order to impose their domination over them. We should therefore unite our efforts to prove to those who prefer the use of force, violating human concepts and values, that their methods are futile and will ultimately lead to a catastrophe involving all mankind.

Intervention in the internal affairs of States and the attempts of some to prevent developing countries from exercising their sovereignty over their national resources in order to achieve prosperity for their peoples are matters that can no longer be ignored or tolerated. The principle of equality in sovereignty stipulated by the United Nations Charter should constitute a cornerstone in relations between States. Adherence to and application of that principle would contribute to the reassurance of those threatened by advanced and powerful States and would thus aid the creation of an international climate in which security and prosperity reign.

We believe that international security cannot be achieved without the total elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racist settler activities and foreign occupation; depriving peoples of their right to self-determination constitutes a grave menace to international peace and security. Those peoples that are deprived of the exercise of that right are fully justified in resorting to various means and measures, including force, in order to achieve the objectives proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, in United Nations resolutions and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The moral and material support extended to militant and struggling peoples is considered a means of consolidating and strengthening international security, for security cannot possibly coexist with injustice, dispersion and oppression.

The Middle East region, to which the State of Qatar belongs, is currently going through a grave and crucial period of its long history. During that period it has witnessed the dispersion and oppression of a whole country, whose population has been uprooted from its homeland and the homeland of its predecessors. In addition, a number of Arab countries have been exposed to foreign occupation by the Zionist expansionist régime that is founded on aggression, in which it believes and which it persists in.
It is feasible to establish security in that region without restoring the lawful natural rights of the people of Palestine? Events have proved the contrary. They have proved that those who believe they can impose peace against the will of a people that has been dispersed and uprooted are only misleading themselves. Is it reasonable that Arab countries exposed to Zionist occupation should submit without resistance? No. That is why my delegation is fully convinced that peace and security cannot be achieved in the Middle East unless their usurped rights are fully restored to the people of Palestine and unless the Zionists are evacuated from Arab territories.

The Zionist régimes disregard of the rights of the people of Palestine and its persistent hounding of this people by attacking its camps with bombs and napalm and its attempt to undermine the Palestinians will to return to their homeland constitute a serious menace to the peace and security not only of the region but also of the world.

The just solution of the problem lies in the implementation of the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations emphasizing the rights of the people of Palestine, the most important of which are the historic resolutions adopted in the course of this session.

The white minority régime of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia constitute a grave menace to peace and security in Africa and throughout the world. Their arrogant belief in racial supremacy is a violation of human values and the most basic of principles and rules.
The fact that they are established on the principle of oppression and persecution of the indigenous population will ultimately lead to their overthrow. Here, I should like to refer to paragraph 23 of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security which resolutely condemns the criminal policy of apartheid and reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed peoples to attain their human rights and fundamental freedoms and self-determination.

My delegation calls upon all States to comply with the various United Nations resolutions which call, among other things, for a total boycott of those two racist régimes and for the provision of moral and material assistance to the peoples of Azania and Zimbabwe in their lawful and legitimate struggle.

Here, I should like to refer to the fact that the State of Qatar has no cultural, economic or diplomatic relations with the white minority régimes. Moreover, together with its sister oil-exporting Arab countries, it has imposed a total embargo on oil exports to those two minority régimes.

The implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace will have a great effect on the stabilization of international security. I should like here to reiterate the appeal I had previously addressed in this Committee, to the countries having military bases in the area, to refrain from strengthening those bases or expanding their zones of influence, as a first step that should be taken, to be followed by total and complete liquidation and dismantling of those bases and total evacuation from these zones of influence.

The countries of the Indian Ocean area, to which the State of Qatar belongs, have clearly and explicitly expressed their condemnation and opposition to making the area one of influence and competition for major Powers. I have no doubt that the resolutions we adopted recently on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Middle East and South Asia will have a great impact in reassuring the peoples of those two areas, which are greatly concerned with the possibility of nuclear power being used for military purposes. The peoples of those two areas are in urgent need of dedicating and devoting their resources for development; and, consequently, compliance by all parties to these two resolutions will do a great service to peace and prosperity.
I should like here to stress my hope that nuclear-weapon-free zones will be expanded to include the whole world.

My delegation welcomes the agreement reached recently, after strenuous and patient efforts, to define aggression, and we hope that this definition will have its concrete effects in the field of safeguarding international security by exercising moral influence on those who violate international law and totally disregard international public opinion, by making them refrain from the use of force and seek peaceful means to settle disputes.

I should like to support in particular article 7 of the Definition of Aggression which states:

"Nothing in this Definition, and in particular article 3, could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right and referred to in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and particularly peoples under colonial and racist régimes or other forms of alien domination; nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the above-mentioned Declaration." (A/9890, p.7)

Here I should like to state that the understanding of my delegation for their struggle, referred to in that article, includes the on-going struggle of peoples, by every means, to achieve independence and self-determination.

International peace is closely linked with international security. Likewise, international security depends on disarmament and economic development, and, therefore, complete and general disarmament will lead to avoiding the scourge of war at the first stage, and, at the second stage, will yield fruitful results in all fields of economic development. That is why we should devote the tremendous sums which are spent on armament to development purposes, from which the whole world would benefit, particularly developing countries.
A reallocation of resources to serve the purposes of development will lead to the elimination of ignorance, disease and oppression. It is a source of regret that some developing countries are obliged to spend and devote huge allocations and budgets for armaments, thus burdening their own budgets and widening the economic gap separating them from advanced countries.

The responsibility for bridging the economic gap existing between developing and advanced countries is a responsibility which should be shared by both groups. If the results are successful, that would also be a contribution towards the maintenance of international security.

For all those reasons, the State of Qatar is determined to devote all efforts and potentialities to serve the purposes of development, basing itself on a rich resource, namely oil. It does not hesitate to extend assistance to all peoples suffering the economic crisis which is currently facing the world, all peoples which are faced with natural calamities. Likewise, it should like to extend assistance to peoples struggling for independence and the right to self-determination. In all these attitudes it would be acting in accordance with the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

In closing, I should like to reiterate the support of my delegation for the principle of universality within the United Nations. The phenomenon of interdependence of all countries and peoples is gaining strength and clarity with time. Such interdependence calls for the co-operation of all countries, whether large, medium or small. That is why respect for the principle of universality, particularly by the major Powers, will constitute a great service to peace and security throughout the world.
Mr. EL-ZOEY (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): International security, on which depends the future of all mankind, is indeed a subject of great significance and importance and one requiring all possible effort in consideration, control and evaluation. What we undertake here with relation to this item in terms of consideration and study should not be limited to a certain number of States only, for it is a matter that involves the most important objective of the United Nations, namely the strengthening of international peace and security.

We attach great importance to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and find in the continuous evaluation and analysis of possibilities for its implementation the only method of reviewing the concept of international security in a constantly changing world, thus identifying areas both of danger and of progress and drawing up a final balance-sheet that will permit the proper evaluation and appreciation of the situation in the interest of the entire international community. Let us glance at that balance-sheet, starting with the brighter side.

On the brighter side, we find considerable progress in the field of the easing of international tension. International détente, particularly among the major Powers, is gaining new ground every day. Among the non-aligned countries, we were one of the first to call for such détente. We are of the view that détente is the concern not only of the major Powers but of all countries of the world as well. We welcome the consolidation and strengthening of détente for the reason that it is in the interest of the entire international community. It places upon the major Powers the responsibility for resolving other international problems, still pending, that should in no way be underestimated as threats to international security. We also welcome the evident improvement in relations among the countries of Europe and the easing of tensions in that neighbouring continent.

On the bright side of the picture we also find the encouraging trend evinced by the new régime in Portugal in its effort to rid itself of the imperialistic concepts and outlook. Though we welcome that new and constructive trend, we also hope that it will continue until the total liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique is achieved.
The bright side of the picture also includes the first fruits of the long struggle by the Palestinian people, the results of a long series of grave sacrifices by that people in seeking to regain its legitimate rights, including its right to self-determination. We see those fruitful results in the recognition by the international community of the people of Palestine, its representatives and its rights, and in the realization that the restoration of those rights is a prerequisite and basic condition for the achievement of a justice and permanent peace in the Middle East.

On the darker side of the picture, we see Israel, persisting in its disregard of the existence of the Palestinian people, in defiance of the will of the entire international community. Israel's continued blind disregard of the facts and the will of the international community; its denial of the rights of the Palestinian people; its pursuit of an expansionist and oppressive policy in the Arab territories it occupies, and its determination to continue that expansionist policy by perpetuating its occupation, all represent, as everyone admits, the most serious and explosive threat to international peace and security at the present time.

While the Arab countries are committed to the United Nations Charter and its resolutions, we find Israel continually refusing to abide by that commitment and those resolutions, thus posing the threat of a new outbreak of war in the region. While we are exerting every effort to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone, we find Israel threatening to introduce nuclear weapons into its arsenal, already well supplied with lethal weapons acquired by every means possible.

This dark picture of persistence and obstinacy leads us to speak of another regrettable situation. For racial discrimination still is the foundation of the régime in South Africa, and that Government's policy of colonialist settlement is still being perpetuated in Namibia, where, as in Zimbabwe, the racist minority is seeking to wipe out the heritage of peoples and usurp their resources. The resolution adopted on South Africa by the General Assembly during this current session may serve as a good lesson for South Africa and for Israel as well.
We follow with great attention and concern the development of the situation in Cyprus. We still hope that a peaceful solution may be reached that will preserve for this founding State of the non-aligned movement its sovereignty and territorial integrity, allowing the two elements of the population of Cyprus to determine the destiny and the future of their country.

In conclusion, I would point out that there is no doubt that what I have just referred to as the dark side of the picture, together with the obstacles impeding progress towards the achievement of international economic security and the bridging of the widening gap between the advanced and the developing countries of the world, overshadows, I regret to say, the brighter side of the picture. Still, we should not in any way be discouraged, nor should we slacken our will to continue to exert efforts to create a better world for everyone.
The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to announce that Guyana has become a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

Mr. AYOFO (Nigeria): As a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 before this Committee on the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", my delegation feels obliged to make a few comments on this subject, especially in view of the unfortunate pronouncements of some Members of this Assembly in the course of the debate in the plenary session on the very important question of strengthening the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security. In the view of my delegation, the two questions are one and the same.

The major threats to international peace and security have always been repeatedly reiterated from the rostrum of this Assembly. Not only that, they are also being practically demonstrated to us in real life. Although colonialism is now virtually dead, neo-colonialism and imperialism are still practical realities. Racism and racial discrimination, which have in the past caused wars between nations, continue in our day to poison human and international relations. In spite of the so-called détente, the armament race, which may prove to be the bane of humanity, continues unabated in the form of open competition in strategic nuclear weapons between the so-called super-Powers, of confrontation between massively armed alliances in Europe and of great-Power incitement and involvement in local conflicts.

Above all, the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries, between the hungry and the over-fed populations of the world, does not, in the view of my delegation, seem to have ever been taken seriously. But it could be a real threat to international harmony, understanding and, subsequently, to international security. We should all remember that the greatest social and political revolutions in history, both in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, were caused by the aberrant disparities between the "haves" and the "have-nots" within the national entities concerned at that time. The international community is not an exception. We have witnessed only a single measure taken by only a
small section of the underprivileged world to redeem itself from perpetual economic serfdom, and the whole world has been panicking ever since. This is lesson enough for the international community.

The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security made by this Assembly at its twenty-fifth session is not only a comprehensive instrument but a dynamic charter. It covers not only those problems which beset the world before and at the time the Declaration itself was made but also makes provisions for future developments. For instance, it not only proscribes colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism but also outlawed aggression against the territorial integrity and political independence of States, including the military occupation of another State resulting from the use of force in contravention of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The Declaration pronounces against the armament race and military alliances of any sort and stresses the close link between the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the economic development of countries. Our present draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 reaffirms all these principles, in which we firmly believe.

But let us honestly ask ourselves: which Members of this Assembly violate these principles most, thereby weakening the Charter of the United Nations? For instance, which are the ones that until this very year used to give military support to Portuguese colonialism in Africa -- until the progressive forces in Portugal discovered that colonialism is an obsolete and self-defeating enterprise? Which ones constitute the backbone of the illegal, racist and apartheid régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa? Which ones started shouting "illegality" when the representatives of apartheid South Africa were disgracefully pushed out of this Assembly? What Powers watch with self-satisfaction the military occupation by their satellites of the territories of other States Members of this Assembly? Again, what nations panic with bitterness when the oppressed nations of the world rise up to demand a just and fair international economic order?

Our draft resolution, in its operative paragraph 3, upholds and strengthens the decision of the General Assembly during its sixth special session. That operative paragraph states "... that any measure or pressure directed against any State while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources constitutes a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention, as set forth in the Charter...".
We should ask which are the Powers that, in the face of fuel shortages, contemplated the military invasion of petroleum sources situated in the territories of other sovereign States as a possible solution to their problem? Above all, which are those that have continued to frustrate both the United Nations Development Decade and the Disarmament Decade by diverting much-needed human and material resources from the normal services to humanity to the unproductive armament race, which itself constitutes a threat of extermination to the entire human race?

If these questions are honestly and objectively answered, we shall find that the majority of this Assembly is devoutly committed to upholding the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security and, thereby, the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations through legality and in the spirit of co-operation. It is only those few States which want to continue to operate and regulate a dynamic Organization such as the United Nations on the criteria and assumptions of the past that are really undermining this Organization. It is to them that we have to appeal for understanding and co-operation. There was a time when many Members of this Assembly were colonies and oppressed peoples. The times are changing. Although many of us may be small in size, in wealth and in physical power, we are equal human beings and we constitute States which by modern international law are not only sovereign but also equal to other States. We should therefore be given a chance to survive. The earlier the big brothers realize this fact, the better the future of this Organization.
From that moment on, both small and big, both rich and poor nations will constitute a happier and more harmonious international community. As was said so appropriately by the representative of Algeria, in the plenary meeting two days ago:

"... the Organization of 1945 cannot impose itself on our world of today. The delicate balances, the compromises, the deals on which it was built no longer mean anything today. In the living and changing world of today, an unchanging organization is condemned to death; its life, its strength and its usefulness can be envisaged only in terms of a rapid, intelligent and voluntary adaptation to the changes in the structure and philosophy of the international community." (A/PV.2313, p. 26)

It is through such dynamic adjustment that this Organization can solve the problems that will continually face it, and it is in this way that we can realistically and fruitfully approach the issue of the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. de Soto (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): On 9 December, in my country, on the occasion of a meeting to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ayacucho, the Heads of State or representatives of Heads of State of eight Latin American countries signed a declaration entitled the Declaration of Ayacucho. Since it comes at such a late stage in the debate, the contribution of my delegation today will consist simply in reading the Declaration of Ayacucho so that it may appear in the records of the First Committee. The Declaration reads as follows:

"Meeting in the city of Lima at the invitation of the Head of State of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ayacucho, the Heads of State and Government of Bolivia, Panama, Peru and Venezuela and the representatives of the Heads of State of Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Ecuador, recognize the great historic importance of that definitive feat of arms in the emancipation of America, which concluded a fundamental stage in the process of forging the liberty of our peoples."

"We pay a tribute to the memory of the illustrious leaders who gave us our country and liberty and set an eloquent pattern of authentic creative solidarity and we offer to America the example of those leaders as a
stimulus to our fulfilment of the obligations of the present and the future.

"Ayacucho was the culmination of a long historic process of awakening to awareness of sovereignty and a manifestation of the valour and will to sacrifice of our peoples. The triumph was possible thanks to the common action of all those from various parts of America who, by their sustained efforts, conceived and realized the ideal of emancipation.

"We therefore proclaim that the Battle of Ayacucho constitutes the symbol of unity of the peoples of Latin America in their struggle for liberation, and the celebration of the 150th anniversary of that battle is a good opportunity to emphasize that Latin America requires constant and continued efforts from its peoples for the full attainment of the ideals of liberty, justice, sovereignty, equality and solidarity.

"In accordance with the spirit which inspired that vast popular movement which unified and liberated our peoples:

"WE DECLARE THAT:

"Our countries achieved their political independence but their incorporation in the world economy subsequently gave rise to different kinds of dependence which explain the obstacles to our economic, social and cultural development.

"It is urgent to complete the task of emancipation by promoting the building of our own future in the social and economic fields, a task which requires methods of development which will ensure for our peoples fair participation in economic and cultural life and bring about the full development of the potential of Latin Americans.

"The historic and essential task of the Latin American continent is to unite for economic and social liberation and to foster the scientific and technical achievements of its countries thus speeding up its integration. This unity will require a common will to achieve common goals in the interest of all its peoples, sustained by solidarity and the recognition of a diversity."
"In consistency with the objectives which inspired the Congress of Panama, we repeat that only united can Latin American countries fully accomplish their mission within the international community, thus contributing to international peace and security.

"Latin American nationalism constitutes a deep awareness on the part of our peoples of their individual existence and true identity, the fruit of a mixture of bloods, a fusion of cultures and a common historic, social and economic experience.

"Its strengthening requires, in the present state of international affairs, the identification of the problems of the region and their solution without any outside interference, and also the undertaking of new forms of joint action which will strengthen the true national character of each of our nations and prevent the prospering in Latin America of policies, actions or measures brought from outside which would diminish the identity of our peoples and the sovereignty of our States.

"We reiterate our adherence to the principles of the legal equality of States, territorial integrity, the self-determination of peoples, ideological pluralism, respect for human rights, non-intervention and international co-operation, the faithful fulfilment of obligations assumed, the peaceful solution of international disputes and the prohibition of recourse to the threat or the use of force and armed, economic or financial aggression in relations among States.

"We condemn and reject the colonial situations which still survive in Latin America and which should be eradicated promptly, since they represent a potential threat to the peace of the region. We pledge ourselves to devote our efforts to achieving this objective.

"We commit ourselves to promoting and supporting the building of a permanent order of peace and co-operation among nations, to creating conditions which will make possible the effective limitation of armaments and put an end to their acquisition for purposes of war and to dedicating all possible resources to the economic and social development of each of the countries of Latin America."
"We condemn the use of nuclear energy for other than peaceful purposes in the service of human progress and well-being.

"The creation of a society with full national capacity for decision-making requires that an end be put to economic dependence through the definition and achievement of economic goals in keeping with the actual needs of each of our peoples.

"Full exercise of sovereignty over our own natural resources, protection of the prices of raw materials, regulation of foreign investments, and control over the activities of multinational corporations are inalienable rights of our countries.

"The concerted efforts of all our nations are essential to promote the creation and strengthening of associations of producers and exporters of raw materials; to achieve the best possible terms of access to international markets for our products; to obtain the best conditions for the transfer, creation and exchange of technology adapted to our particular situations; to ensure the best possible regional supply of essential articles, particularly food-stuffs; to establish Latin-American multinational corporations; and to co-operate in monetary, transport and communications matters, external financing, and in the establishment of Latin-American financial organizations.

"Integration is the most effective instrument for development and a guarantee of economic independence in concerted national efforts within our economies.

"The profound economic crisis in the world makes clear the need for decisive encouragement of structural change and the establishment of a system of collective economic security that would make possible the integral development of our peoples for their own well-being, in a climate of stability, free from threats or coercion which might hinder it, so as to achieve a new international economic order based on equity, equality, sovereignty, interdependence, mutual interest and the co-operation of all States."
"In reaffirming the historic commitment to strengthen ever further the unity and solidarity of our peoples, we fully understand Bolivia's land-locked situation -- a situation which deserves the most attentive consideration with a view towards reaching constructive agreements on the matter.

"We declare that the union of our peoples as sister nations promotes peace, justice, well-being and the rule of law, the supreme objectives of our international relations. In consistency with these fundamental principles, we solemnly undertake to act immediately and in concert through our Foreign Ministers in the face of any situation which may affect the peaceful coexistence of our countries.

"We shall co-operate decisively, in a spirit of fraternity, so that the peoples of Latin America, today a community of 300 million, may unite their efforts in the face of the present imperative of mapping out their own course, freely and autonomously, towards the achievement of the objectives of economic development and social justice, which make possible the full realization and development of the potential of Latin Americans, who are the sole heirs to the historic legacy of that struggle for emancipation that culminated in Ayacucho.

"Signed in Government House, Lima, on 9 December 1974,
General Juan Velasco Alvarado, President of the Republic of Peru;
General Hugo Banzer Suárez, President of the Republic of Bolivia;
General Omar Torrijos Herrera, Head of Government of Panama;
Carlos Andrés Perez, President of the Republic of Venezuela;
Julio César Turbay Ayala, representative of the President of the Republic of Colombia; Alberto J. Vignes, representative of the President of Argentina;
Carlos Aníbal Jaramillo, representative of the President of the Republic of Ecuador; Vice-Admiral Patricio Carbajal Prado, representative of the Chief of State of Chile."
Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): It is not my delegation's intention, at this point in our debate, to make a substantive statement; I should merely like to voice the gratitude of my delegation to the representative of Peru for having brought to the attention of this Committee the important Declaration signed in Ayacucho in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the battle which crowned the war of independence of a number of Latin American countries which today we call the countries of Bolívar.

As can be seen, this Ayacucho document is an important contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, the item before us today. In it are proclaimed and reaffirmed the principles that lie behind the solidarity of the Latin American nations; and, indeed, they are identical with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The Declaration of Ayacucho reaffirms the solidarity of the signatory countries and commits their Governments to concert their co-operative efforts in the promotion of peace, security and understanding among countries.

May I once again thank the representative of Peru for having brought that Declaration to the attention of the Committee. That is all I wish to say at this time.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We have now concluded the general debate on agenda item 36.

I wish to announce the delegation of Uganda has become a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

I shall now call on those delegations wishing to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.
Mr. NORBURY (United States of America): My delegation will vote against the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 primarily because of our strong objections to operative paragraph 3.

We should like other delegations to give serious consideration to the import of the language this paragraph contains. If accepted in its present form, this paragraph could inhibit States from making any attempt to influence the actions of other States in connexion with the disposition of their natural resources, even where permitted by international law.

We cannot agree, for example, that a State must renounce the use of peaceful diplomatic or judicial channels to represent its point of view on any economic or political question of great importance to it.

Furthermore, we cannot accept the conclusion that such completely legitimate actions are in any way a "flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention", or "a threat to peace", as the highly exaggerated and unbalanced language of operative paragraph 3 asserts.

My remarks about operative paragraph 3 are not meant to imply that we find all other parts of this draft resolution acceptable.

Mr. GICHERU (Kenya): My delegation, although not a sponsor of this draft resolution, will nevertheless vote for it.

Among other things, it will please representatives to note that my country, only yesterday, celebrated the eleventh anniversary of its independence. It was therefore with particular concern that my delegation views the contents -- and I should like my good friend from the United States to know this -- of the articles, "Global-Reach I" and "Global-Reach II" in the 2 December and 9 December issues of The New Yorker magazine, dealing with the work-plan of multinational corporations. I will not try to summarize the contents of those articles; I respect my colleagues and trust that they will take them for their own consumption.

I had not intended to make any comment on that; I mentioned it only as a side-line.
Mr. Chairman, as we are coming to the end of our proceedings it is only fair to thank and to congratulate you on the manner in which you have guided our proceedings. There is no doubt in the mind of my delegation that fairness has symbolized itself in a son of Argentina. Many hours, weeks and indeed months have been reflected on your face, but boredom has never been seen on it. Indeed, many of us feel that the problems of our Committee will largely be the problems that will be in the forefront of the agenda items of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

The voices that will be here in the next session may be the same in some cases; however, the problems will still be the same. Many of us believe that we do not strengthen international security -- our last item -- by being obsessed with areas of confrontation, although those confrontation areas should not be there.

We believe that when we are here in this Committee we should work towards a solution of the problems so that at the next session of the Committee we do not come back to the same problems. The United Nations was created because there were problems. We should not support the maintenance of the United Nations and then on the side create problems to its existence. It should be made an Organization for the solving of problems.

We have been in this Committee, which is a main Committee, dealing with security and other matters, duplicating the same things in a number of cases that are being tackled by some delegations, with all due respect, in the plenary Assembly because they could not be here. There are delegations which have come here and said that they have already made their main contribution in the plenary Assembly.
Mr. Chairman, as I said at the beginning of my very brief remarks, as we leave we appreciate the manner in which you have presided over the proceedings of this Committee. We should look forward so that the problems we have tried to solve, the resolutions that we have adopted and recommended to the plenary Assembly are such that we do not return next year with the same resolutions, recommend them to the next Chairman and hope that the following year will be the same. There is a proverb which states, "Repetition is the mother of studies", but repetition should not be there if one can learn more than one can repeat.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to thank the representative of Kenya for his very cordial words addressed to me.

I should like to announce that the delegation of the Congo is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

We shall now take up the voting procedure. Article 128 of the rules of procedure is in effect. I put to the vote the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706 dealing with agenda item 36, entitled, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", sponsored by Afghanistan and others.

The draft resolution was adopted by 79 votes to 1, with 12 abstentions.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on delegations wishing to explain their vote after the vote.
Mr. SCALABRE (France) (interpretation from French): I should like to explain, on behalf of the European Economic Community, the reasons why its members abstained in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706.

For four years, the General Assembly and our Committee have been dealing with the problem of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. After long discussions which have led to successive resolutions adopted on the subject, we are wondering whether it is necessary to continue this exercise. If we multiply resolutions, we are straying from the fundamental Declaration adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. By introducing into it concepts is to the value of which we should not -- and do not wish -- to take a position in the context of this item we have in so doing lost the unanimity which was so important and fundamental to that Declaration. These concepts are controversial and some of them have no direct connexion with the maintenance of international security which we take, in its strict sense, to be the maintenance of the state of peace and the prevention of the state of war.
We have watered down this fundamental idea of international security by introducing into it other ideas which are not indissolubly linked with it and we have simply given ourselves a new area of controversy. In our view it is time to go back to the source, that is to say, the Declaration of the twenty-fifth anniversary session, which is self-sufficient. It is time to stop departing from it as we have done by purporting to consider its implementation.

Mr. Huerta (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Chile voted in favour of the draft resolution because it reaffirms principles contained in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the 1952nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations on 16 December 1970. These principles constitute a code of conduct for States in their international relations. Among other matters it establishes fundamental standards of respect for the sovereignty of States and the right of peoples to independence and self-determination. Article 4 of the Declaration states:

"Solemnly reaffirms that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert, and refrain from any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other State or country;"

(General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV))

Further on, the Declaration reiterates the observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal political affairs of another State. Article 5 establishes:

"... that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State;" (ibid.)

As on other occasions we have heard during this session many speakers who have frequently invoked the principles of the United Nations and conventions and agreements adopted here. Unfortunately, words do not always correspond to fact. We make that assertion because it is based on our own experience.
At this morning's meeting, which is about to conclude, one delegation once again demonstrated the truth of what I have been saying. I should not like to let false attacks against my country go without response, but at the same time I do not want to impede the conclusion of our work or in any way interfere with the excellent guidance which you, Mr. Chairman have given throughout the session. Therefore, I should briefly like to have note taken of the following:

Chile has been the target of a systematic, organized campaign aimed at instigating terrorism and civil war on its soil and at encouraging the division of its peoples into irreconcilable groups. In this campaign, which is still continuing, foreign Governments, which have not even attempted to hide their interventionist policy and what they have been trying to do, have participated. These are not situations of minor importance. We have been able to prove foreign interference by the introduction of thousands of political activists and guerrilla instructors together with the illegal traffic of huge quantities of weapons of many kinds, including the discovery today of new arsenals of these weapons sent from abroad to supply a terrorist group. In financing and propaganda in order to stimulate terrorism in Chile, the heads of foreign Governments are participating and they are using government-owned means of communication.

On this occasion we have adopted a new resolution which, as I said, reaffirms the same ideas and purposes aimed at strengthening international security that we have always supported. But the United Nations must not merely adopt resolutions, well-founded as they may be. As on other occasions, when our Organization has indeed been able to take effective measures to preserve international peace and security, it must now take a more active and effective stand.

In this resolution the Secretary-General is asked to submit to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session a report on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. That report cannot be merely a routine document describing the situation in general terms. It must contain a detailed analysis of every instance in which a State has in any way violated the principles of the Charter or infringed the provisions of the Declaration of 1970. We are sure that the United Nations can demonstrate with facts
that it is not only a useful forum for debating these topics but that it is also able to play a more positive role in improving the international situation and, above all, that it can also provide a guarantee that every attempt at outside interference will be prevented or rejected.

I should not like to conclude without also expressing my pleasure to the representative of Peru for having read the Declaration of Ayacucho. My country is a signatory and was represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the Head of State of Chile. In that Declaration reference is made to the fact that Latin American solidarity and nationalism is to be strengthened without any interference which may jeopardize the sovereignty of States. It reaffirms the principle of non-intervention. Here we see a positive, powerful contribution to the strengthening of international security.
Mr. MØRKVED (Norway): It was somewhat reluctantly that the Norwegian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.706. Its favourable vote was cast in order once more to express general support for the principles laid down in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

The lack of enthusiasm inherent in our positive vote is not so much a reflection of the reservations we do hold with regard to certain paragraphs of the resolution just adopted and the vagueness and ambiguities of other parts of the text. It is, rather, a reflection of the serious doubt we maintain as to the usefulness of the general debate we have had this week on this item and as to the advisability of continued annual attempts on elaborations or selective interpretations of a widely accepted but delicately balanced and carefully worded Declaration.

Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): I fully associate myself with the statement of the representative of France explaining the abstentions of the members of the European Economic Community on the resolution that has just been voted on.

In that statement, the representative of France referred to our objections to the appearance in the resolution of considerations which raise controversy but are not in our view strictly relevant to the maintenance of international security as we understand it.

In this connexion my delegation had in mind, in particular, operative paragraph 3. If there had been a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the resolution, my delegation would have voted against paragraph 3.

Mr. MÜTTERNICH (Federal Republic of Germany) (interpretation from French): My delegation wishes explicitly to associate itself with the explanation of vote given by the representative of France, who spoke on behalf of the European Community. My delegation would like to state that among the concepts included in the resolution which give rise to controversy and were referred to by the representative of France, operative paragraph 3 has caused us some difficulty. Had there been a separate vote on that operative paragraph my delegation would have voted against it.
Mr. AL-ATIYYAH (Iraq): My delegation was absent during the voting on the draft resolution in document A/ C.1/L.706. Had it been present, my delegation would have voted in the affirmative.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Iraq for his comments, which will be duly reflected in the record.

The Committee has therefore concluded its consideration of agenda item 36, entitled "Strengthening of International Security".

I shall now call upon those members wishing to exercise their rights of reply.

Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): In exercise of its right of reply, my delegation wishes very briefly and in terms as uncontroversial as possible to reply to the statement we heard this morning from the representative of Spain.

I regret that that representative saw fit to introduce the subject of Gibraltar into this debate. I cannot accept that the presence of a military base in Gibraltar poses a threat to the security of Spain or of the Mediterranean at large. I must stress that the military base in Gibraltar is purely defensive. I must also reiterate that history has consistently shown that British military bases never pose a threat to peace-loving nations, and least of all to Spain. Moreover, the garrison of what has been described as a fortress colony amounts to a few hundred men -- hardly a very serious military factor.

The problem to which the representative of Spain has drawn our attention -- and we recognize that it is a problem -- is one of people and of sovereignty, and as such is a problem which falls within the competence of the Fourth Committee rather than the First Committee. My Government has no doubts concerning its sovereignty in Gibraltar, and its views have been made clear in the debates of the Fourth Committee. I would refer the representative of Spain to those statements on my Government's position on this problem.

Mr. FREIL (Israel): In a very few words I should like to refer to some of the statements heard this morning during the debate in reference to the Middle East.
Most, if not all of the speakers who referred to the Middle East could not be said to be representing delegations having objective views on the Middle East conflict. One representative went so far as to openly advocate violence.

My main reason for speaking is to say that certain things were missing in the references to the Middle East question -- even in those references made by delegations which feared the possible outbreak of a new war in that part of the world. Perhaps it might be of some value if I were to offer the Committee a few words concerning the views of my Government as to the nature of the requirements involved in avoiding a war in the Middle East and achieving peace there.

Primarily, they are as follows. There should be strict compliance with the cease-fire and strict compliance with the maintenance of the arrangements that are in force for keeping the cease-fire. Secondly, and on a basis of reciprocity, there should be complete abstention from all acts of violence. Thirdly, there should be negotiations in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) in order to arrive at peace treaties embodying a just and lasting peace for the Middle East.

Having said that, I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that when the Committee meets again, next year, the Middle East will have taken a long step towards peace in that tormented area.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The First Committee has concluded its work at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

Several delegations are listed to speak, as is traditional at the end of the yearly proceedings. I should like in as friendly a manner as possible to request those delegations once again to place in me the confidence they have demonstrated for three months and to allow me to make a few final comments and be the only one to do so. That would represent my contribution to the lightening of the budget of the United Nations. It would preclude the paying of a lot of tributes, which does indeed involve expenditure for our Organization, which is lacking in funds. Moreover, the courtesy and friendship all delegations have extended to me and to the other officers of the Committee have been demonstrated throughout the Committee's consideration of the four items before it.
If tributes are indeed in order, those most in order are those the Chairman, the two Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur should pay to all members of the Committee. I am sure I am speaking for them, though I have not consulted them in this connexion.
I should like to express our thanks for the support and solidarity demonstrated by all delegations to the Chairman and to the officers of the Committee, which has made it possible for us to conclude our tasks before the deadline.

Perhaps by modifying tradition somewhat, I as Chairman, with your understanding, may act as the interpreter of the feelings of all of us within the First Committee. Firstly, I should like to refer personally to the staff of the Secretariat which has, through these months of difficult work, demonstrated effectiveness, efficiency, competence, interest, dedication, devotion and, of course, much patience. The daily contact which I have had the privilege of having with them has made it possible for me to prove the truth of something that in fact I already knew, but at least now I can bear witness to it from this side of the Committee: it is that, despite the diversity of nationalities composing it, it is a body of excellent staff members. They are excellent in every sense of the word. They are international civil servants whom the Organization should feel legitimately satisfied with and proud of.

I shall not list who they are nor what duties they have performed, because all equally deserve our thanks. I should simply like to point to the valuable co-operation, we received from the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Shevchenko, and the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Bannerjee, a co-operation that has served to enrich the experience of the officers of the Committee. I should like to emphasize that when I refer to those two outstanding colleagues, I am using them as a symbol of all the members of the Secretariat who have worked with us. I am not exaggerating, nor is this a commonplace or mere diplomatic courtesy, if I say that it was their willing, concerned, devoted and faithful counsel which made it possible for the Chairman, the two Vice-Chairmen and the Rapporteur to perform the duties you had entrusted to them.

A very special thanks goes to the Rapporteur, Mr. da Costa Lobo of Portugal. We have all admired his discreet manner, which sometimes caused his presence to pass unnoticed, but which appears clearly, together with the effectiveness and efficiency we all know in the reports which he presented to our Committee.
I should like to emphasize the work of the two Vice-Chairmen, Mr. Neugebauer of the German Democratic Republic and Mr. Siddiq of Afghanistan and their co-operation with me. Without the support and solidarity they afforded me at all times, it would not have been possible to conclude our tasks.

I believe I have already spoken at too great a length and do not wish to overburden the budget of the United Nations. Therefore, on behalf of all those I have mentioned and on behalf of all of you, I believe that we should congratulate ourselves on a job well done. On behalf of all, both of those who will remain here and of those who will return to their homes, I wish the greatest happiness and a good New Year.

The members of the First Committee gave the Chairman a standing ovation.

The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.